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MEDICINE SONGS OF GEORGE FARMER¹

BY ALBERT B. REAGAN

WHILE doing research work among the Bois Fort Indians of Minnesota when I was Indian Agent at Nett Lake in that state one of my Indian policemen was a medicine man by the name of George Farmer Ne-ba-day-ke-shi-go-kay. He was a man of influence among his people. He also had a sufficient knowledge of his language, to be able to write down his thoughts in "Chippewa," though he had never been to any school so far as could be learned.

Once when at his place I accidentally discovered that he had a large note book. His little daughter gave it to me, and on opening it I saw writing in it, but in a language I did not recognize. After a good deal of persuasion, I succeeded in getting him to translate the words, when to my surprise I found that the writing consisted of medicine songs and medicinal receipts.²

These were written in Roman script but with phonetic values similar to French. Mr. Farmer let me copy his notes. The copy of his writing is in the first line and below this is the direct translation of each word that is translatable. The words "to-o," "ho-wo-he," "we-he," and many others are just thrown-in words and do not admit of being translated. Stars indicate places where there are lengthy pauses in the song and dashes where short pauses occur. The word written "mite" is the same as the "mide," found elsewhere.

¹ It should be noted that the orthography of the Indian words cited in this paper does not take into consideration phonetic niceties. Thus true lenes surd stops are not distinguished from sonant stops, nor are 'p, 't, 'k from p, t, k respectively. It seems likely that terminally sonant stops are aspirated but have a corresponding surd as a glide. True sonant stops do not exist after sibilants; and it is not likely that true surds exist after the consonants n, ŋ, m. Possibly, to judge by the Gull Lake dialect, other peculiarities exist.—Truman Michelson.

² The medicinal receipts were published under the title "Some Chippewa Medicinal Receipts," in the *American Anthropologist* (N.S.), vol. 23, 1921, pp. 246-249.

THE MEDICINE SONGS

Song 1: As Written in George Farmer's Notebook

KAGIWEIASH OGHGABEWI SI MI TEWIG

Bemí kewanina shi madagwanina
 Mí kana misíwe bemí kawéian
 Mí-sí-we o tenag babígotenag
 Ní bawíog mí mí gí himag kashí ka wít
Mego nawag
 Ní ní wa ní bawída bebí nawag
Ni te mosabebi nawog
 Wí-da ní-nee nish ínini wog o *nabíwog*
Edanabíian
 Ano djímo a ní gí wí newa ní kan
Nani gedji no dji mo a qwi mo ki ia ne
 Eí nawemo íane anish mí te
 Nái ní ní wag nani hí teshg awag
 Ní-te-mo sa
 * * * * *
 Ságí sí í tíg wí kó tíg
 Íalíaaama wanáí temasa kí to bwa
 Kane kí to nagane

Song 1: Kagiweiash Ochigabewisimitewig

(O. B. Johnson's Medicine Dance Song)

1. Be-mi-ka-we-i-nan shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-na
 I see a bear track *or* a track bear

Explanation: The above is sung by those who are walking around inside of the Grand Medicine Lodge, and they go through the motions of looking for the bear track, dancing around the hall in a half stooped-over position.

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|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 2. Ni-ka-na | mi-si-we | be-mi-ka-we-ian |
| put presents on | center line in dance hall | big ducks track seen |
| Mi-si-we | o-te-nag | ba-bi-go-te-nag |
| big ducks | town | bad rocks |

Free translation: Put the presents [to the gods] on the center line of the dance hall, as we have seen the tracks of the great northern loon (big ducks). The big ducks [are soaring around]. They see the rocks all around the town.

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|----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 3. Ni-ba-wi-og | ni-mi-gi-si-mag | kashi-ko-wit | me-go-na-wag |
| Somebody | my shells | today | somebody shoots |
| standing | | | |

Free translation: Somebody (some one of the medicine actors) standing up, "shoots" my medicine shells [for my benefit] today.

(It is believed that the konapamik shell, the sacred emblem of the Grand Medicine Lodge, is to be swallowed by the medicine man and then by the power of these shells (magic influence) he can "shoot" into the candidate's heart the mysterious power and influence contained in his medicine bag.)

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|------------|-------------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| 4. Ni-niwa | nibawida | be-binawag | nitemosa | be-bi-na-wag |
| man | standing up | shoots the | partner friend | shoots shells |
| | | shells | | |

Free translation: A man standing up [in the lodge] "shoots" the shells [into the heart] of my partner; [he] "shoots" the shells. (It might also mean: A man, standing up, "shoots" the shells. My friend "shoots" the shells.)

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| 5. Widaninee | nish ininiwag | ona-biwag | eda-na-bi-ie-an |
| have lots of | two men | sit down | bed |
| things | | | |

Free translation: Two men who have lots of things sit down on a bed or mat.

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|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 6. A-no-dji-mo-a | ni-gi-wi-ne-dwa | ni-kan |
| somebody's brother | shoot the shells, sick | partner |
| Na-ni-ge-dji | no-dji-mo-a | e-wi-mo-ki-ia-ne |
| somebody saw him on the | someone falls down on | somebody sings |
| other side of his brother | his side and gets up | |
| | again | |

Free translation: My partner whom you see on the other side of the sick brother "shoots" the shells into him (the candidate), as he falls down and gets up again, as somebody sings. (This stanza illustrates the action of the candidate, falling down when he is "shot" by the medicine man; the magic influence of the medicine bag being "shot" into his heart, and being too powerful for him to bear, he becomes unconscious. Such a scene as is here described can be seen at any medicine lodge dance. The person who falls down in a pretended unconsciousness is said to be sick.)

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| 7. E-gi-na-we-mo-ia-ne | an-ish-mi-te | |
| somebody sang | I guess dancing | |
| Wai-ni-ni-wag | na-ni-bitesh-gowag | ni-te-mo-a |
| man | dancing all walking | partner |
| | to town | |

Free translation: As somebody sings there is dancing; everybody dancing walks to town with my partner. *Or:* Somebody sings and there is dancing and everybody, dancing, walks to town with my partner (the person being initiated).

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|------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 8. Sagisjtigwikotig | Yahla(h) ah(h)ahmah | aniatemasa |
| somebody shoots shells | at wigwam | partner |
| Ki-t-bwa-ka-na | ki-to-na-ga-ne | |
| five | plates | |

Free translation: Somebody (the medicine man) "shoots" the shells [in a "medicine" way] at the wigwam of my partner (the person being initiated) and [he prepares] five plates [for the chief medicine men, i.e., five dishes of eatables].

Song 2: As Recorded in the Notebook

ENAGAMI GI NAG MI TE NAGAMON

Manito ino nanawagamig
 Na-na-wik-ish-go-ke manito *wiko*
 Biei-na bi-wake dji gwe-wa-ge
Ki-i-e-i-na bi-wake ms ki-ia-ne
 Na-na-wa-ga-mig we dji ms-ki-iane
 Na-na-wi-ki-shig we dji ms-ki-iane
 * * * * *

Awena—*ke-wi-a-woge* ki hinan
Awena—*ke-wi-a-woge* dji *kwewoke*
 Ni-kani wi te
Ni kani i ko o
 Dji-bi sasagadj we adaki mi to ke
Mada ni kishi ko mina *to ke*
 Nano deia ko we wake edashit
Mitewa wewigani magwa
 Wi a mwake dawi amwake
Megwe kamig nani bawigwen
 Kisig i nato dane ni kan *kiwidakamige*
Kana wabami te
 Waban ni bi tsne ni kan
 Baiawage badamwewi daman
 Kaogi na manito.

Song 2: E-na-ga-mi-gi-nag mi-te na-ga-mon

(Anahkahmegenung's Medicine Lodge Song)

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|-----------|-----|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Manito | ino | nanawagamig | nanawikishigoke | nimatowike |
| God | is | over all islands | over the heaven | [is] God (?) |

Free translation: God is over the heaven and the earth. (It is hard to translate this. Na-na-mi-ga-mig is the "muskeg" (peat) in the swamps rising up out of the water, a sort of floating peat, the Indians believing that the land surface of the earth is a floating muskeg—"lots of islands on the surface of the big ocean." They base their belief on the fact that a piece of muskeg will tear loose from the bottom of the shallow lakes in that northern country and float around bearing upon it quite a bit of vegetation, even small trees. I have used such floating islands as concealments in the fall when hunting ducks on Nett Lake. I could hide among the rushes and sunflower like weeds and, putting my decoys in the clear water adjacent, could shoot ducks from that concealment as they settled on the water among them; but I had to be careful lest my island sink under my weight and leave me in the water. Na-na-wa-ga-mig also means "all over the country are big

islands," i.e., it is the earth (the middle of the universe). The Indians believe that the visible universe is composed of two plate-like parts; the sky is the upper "plate," the earth the lower "plate." They call the earth the lower middle of the universe, the sky the upper middle of the universe. They also believe that we live in the center of the upper (or land) part of the "earth-plate" and that the sky directly above us, "the visible sky," is the center of the "sky-plate." Nah-nah-we-ke-shig-oke is "the center of the "sky-plate.")

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|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 2. Bioina-bi-wake | dji-gwe-wa-ge |
| the thunderbird | thunders |
| Ki-ie-i-na | bi-wake |
| look see | the islands |
| | mo-ki-ia-ne |
| | grow up [out of the water] |
3. Na-na-wa-ga-mig we-dji-mo-ki-ia-ne
from the middle of the sky we come down

Free translation: From the center of the earth, the land surface of the earth, the big island grows up and from the center of the earth-plate we come up. From the middle of the sky-plate in the starry vault we come down.

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| 4. A-we-na | ke-wi-a-wage | ki-bi-nan |
| who | uses | medicine shells? |
| A-we-na | ke-wi-a-wage | dji-kwe-wa-ke |
| who | uses | the thunder? |

5. Ni-kane-we-te
the head walker in the dance.

Ni-kani-i-ho o
(the head walker in the medicine dance, the leading man, the person who leads or heads the dancing column in the Grand Medicine Lodge dance ceremonies.)

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| 6. Dji-bi-sa-sa-ga-dji-we | a-da-ki-mi-to-ke |
| the daylight | comes upon the earth |
| Ma-da-ni-kish-i-ko | mi-na-to-ke |
| sky | God |

Free translation: The daylight in fringed rays comes upon the earth and when the sun gets a little higher the sky clears (i.e., darkness is gone, darkness goes when the sun gets brighter).

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| 7. Na-no-de-ia-ko-we-wake | wa-ke-e-da-shit |
| there not much | talking |
| Mi-te-wa | we-wi-ga-ni-ma-gwa |
| medicine men | our brethren |

Free translation: There is not much talking. The medicine men are our friends or brethren." (The whole stanza seems to mean: Every one is too tired from dancing to talk much; but all the medicine men are our friends.)

8. Wi-am-wa-ke da-wi am-wa-ke
 eating dog medicine dance
 Me-gwe-ka-mig na-ni-ba-wi-gwen
 all the people stand up between lots of houses

Free translation: All the people [are] standing up dancing all around the village eating dog as they dance. (This stanza is sung just before the dog-eating feast begins.)

9. Kishig i-na-to-da-ne ni-kan ki-wi-da-mi-ge
 sky asks brethren all round the horizon
 Ka-na-wa-ba-mi-te
 look and see

Free translation: The medicine man points to the sky and says: The heavens ask the brethren [of our lodge] everywhere to look and see me, (i.e., to approve his medicine acts).

10. Wa-ban ni-bi-te-ne ni-kan
 morning brings friends
 11. Ba-ia-wa-ge ba-da-me-we-wi-da-man
 thunderers coming
 Kah-ge-na manito
 all gods

Free translation: The thunderers are always coming; all the gods [are always coming].

Song 3: As Recorded in the Notebook

O NA MAN ASH GWEN A GA MON

Ieewa wedahi ian ogimawano
 Gwen abiiian ahi gwen
 Ni kan ni na to na mawa ni kan
 Ka wi da mon me ni to wag
 * * * * * *
 Ieewa ni to ko kagi na mi to gok we
 Wigan magwakaki na adi mig
 Awewedani na kamatweishit kakina
 Mi tewag dji no dame wat
 Awenen ni kan ni na to ma
 Mite nikis manito ni kan kiwabama
 Ia a magwaweto ti hi hishgokamig ni kan
 Ka-damwe wi doke ti bishigokishik
 * * * * * *

Song 3: as sung by O-na-ma-nash-gwen-a-ga-mon

1. Iie-e-wa we-da-bi-ian o-gima-wa-no-gwen
 (no meaning) see the [bed] chiefs

1. E-wi-wa-ba-mi-ia-ne wagidakamig koedjiwabamiiane
look and see me on top of the ground you see on

Free translation: Look, and see me! You see me on top of the ground (country or earth).

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|------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2. Ni-kan | ki-wi-da-mon | me-ni-to-wag |
| my brother | I ask you | gods |
| Ni-kan | ki-wi-da-mon | menitowag |
| my brother | I ask you | gods |
| | | mishagwatog |
| | | clear sky |

Free translation: My brother, I ask you about the gods. My brother, I ask you about the gods of the clear sky.

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|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 3. A-ia-a | keosabamigwen | tibishgokeshig |
| (no meaning) | where you were watch- | middle of sky |
| | ing me or I want you to see | |

Free translation: I want you to see in the middle of the sky.

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| 4. Ki-me-te-win | tibish-go-kamig |
| I give you medicine dance | middle of the earth |
| Ki-me-te-wi-in | ti-bish-ko-ki-shig |
| I give you medicine dance | middle of the sky |

Free translation: I give you a medicine dance in the middle of the land area of the earth; I give you a dance in the zenith above.

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| 5. Na-ni-ba-a-ga-wi-da | ish-gwa-teg |
| walking in the night | in the door |
| Ki-ne-big | a-ga-wi-da |
| snake | walking in the night |

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| 6. Ka-ie-min | i-ka-na-wi-ton | mitewiwin | manitowan |
| I, too | am keeping | medicine lodge | gods |

Free translation: I, too, am keeping a medicine lodge for the gods.

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| 7. A-ia-go | oiokima | a-io-ko | manito |
| it was said to | chief | it was said to me | god. |
| him sometimes | | sometimes see | |

Free translation: It was said to me: "Sometimes I see a chief; sometimes I see a god."

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| 8. We-sa-wa-dji-wag | ki-dji-ka-mi-we |
| it looks billows on | Lake Superior |
| Anin | en-a-dji-wag |
| what is it | waving in billows on |
| | Lake Superior |

Free translation: It looks like billows on Lake Superior. What is it waving in billows on Lake Superior?

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| 9. Ka-wi-ki-ka | a-ia-dji-mi-te |
| getting old | somebody tell |
| Ka-wi-ki-ka | wa-ia-ba-ko-ke |
| pretty old | I see |

Free translation: Somebody tells me about somebody getting old. I see a pretty old man.

Song 5: Mite Nagamon (Medicine Dance Singing)

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|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Be-mi-ka-we-i-na-ne | shi-ma-da-gwa |
| see track | bear |
| 2. Shi-ma-da-gwa ³ | ni-to-ga-wi-a |
| bear | I see track |

Free translation: I see the bear track.

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|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 3. N-ga-na | ni-wa-ni-no-se | wi-ki-wa-mik |
| friend | walking around [in] | medicine lodge wigwam |
| Ish-gwa-teg | ni-wa-ne-no-se | |
| in the door of the lodge | walking around | |

Free translation: They are walking around the brother (friend) who is being initiated in the medicine lodge wigwam. They are walking around him in the door of the lodge. (This is the scene of the dancing actors dancing around a novitiate.)

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| 4. I-we-da-bi-ma | ki-to-bwa-ka-ne |
| set (or lay) down | pipe |
| I-wi-da-bi-dan | ki-to-na-ga-ne |
| set down | dishes of eatables (<i>or</i> dishes to eat in) |

Free translation: Put down the pipe. Set down the dishes [in the place designated]. (The dishes are such as are used to contain certain eatables at the medicine dances. The scene indicated by this stanza is the preparatory ceremony to the feasting part of the medicine ceremonies.)

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| 5. Ki-shi-gwi-bi-nan | ki-wa-wi-da-mo-ne |
| sky | I ask |
| Ki-dji-sa-ki-ma | ki-wa-wi-da-mo-ne |
| sky | I ask |

Free translation: I make supplication to the sky. I make supplication to the sky.

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|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| | * * * * * * * * | |
| 6. Wa-ba-ma-ga-ne | shimadagwanino | inemadabit |
| see | bear | sit down |

Free translation: A bear skin is exhibited, sitting down.

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|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 7. We-na-go-da-wi-ian | ti-bish-go-kam-ig | |
| set snare | in sky | |
| O-mi-te | ti-bish-go-ki-shig | me-ma-to-bit |
| medicine | middle sky | sat down |

³ The *g* in *gwa* has almost the sound of *q*.

Free translation: The medicine god [of the middle of the day] made a snare in the sky and sat down in the middle of the sky.

8. Ia-ni-ka-na	shi-ma-da-gwa	be-mo-set
my brother	bear	walking
Mi-ka-nag	mi-si-se	bi-mo-se
road	turkey	walking
		mi-ka-nag
		road

Free translation: My brother, the bear, is walking the road; the turkey is walking the road. (This probably refers to some drawing on a birch bark parchment.)

9. A-ni-da	e-bi-na-wi-iane	shi-ma-da-gwa
what you say	shoot me	bear
Ki-ma-ga-te-wi	te-na-ni-we	ki-wa-ki-te-na-ni-we
black	tongue	crooked

Free translation: What do you say? The black bear with the crooked tongue is going to "shoot" me [with the medicine shells]. (I have seen acts in the medicine lodge ceremonies in which a black bear skin with long tongue extending out of the mouth was pointed toward non-dancers by the dance-actors in the ceremonies as they passed by the same in their forward movement. And this stanza probably refers to such an act.)

10. Odji-ie-to-ian	wi-ia-i	ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan
I set	(no meaning)	girl's grandfather's
O-ma-ki-sin	ani-ie-to-ian	ni-ka-da-mo-wan
moccasin	I set it	I am afraid

Free translation: I place the girl's moccasin [as you suggest]. I set it down, because I am afraid.

Song 6: Sa-gi-man-a-ki-ka-mon (Drum Singing)

1. Ka-wa-bi-kwe-hi-wat	ma-ni-tok
white haired	god
Ish-a-we-ni-mi-kok	ti-bish-ko-kamik
gives medicine by a kiss (touch-mouth process)	middle place
Ki-wi-da-ka-mik	
all around the earth	

Free translation: The white haired god, wherever he meets him in the middle of the earth space or all around the earth (everywhere), gives him medicinal powers (*literally* medicine) with a kiss.

2. Ish-a-we-ni-mi-kog	ni-kane	ti-bish-go-ka-mig
give him medicine	my friend	middle place
by a kiss		
Ke-kibwa-ganawat	niti-nemikog	kegina-kogane-wat
has pipe	full of tobacco	has dishes

Free translation: My friend, he who gave him medicine by a kiss in the middle of the earth place, has a pipe full of tobacco. He also has some dishes.

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|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 3. A-be-bi-na | bi-si-daw | ka-ia-gi-ki-to-wat |
| just now | some one is talking | that talking |
| | (who's talking?) | |
| O-ko-we | mi-te-wag | we-we-ni-sa |
| here | medicine man | a little close like |
| | | whispering in the |
| | | ear |
| Ki-ia-gi-te-wat | | ki-wi-da-ba-mig |
| talking | | all country around |

Free translation: Who is that talking just now—a little close as if whispering in the medicine man's ear? Who is talking everywhere?

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|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 4. E-go-bi | wa-hwen | o-go-we | manitog |
| about ten sit down in a long circle | | here | gods |
- Ki-ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag
Mesabe Ranges (of mountains)

Wegwebiiote	waiagwakidjikaming	mi-te-wag
in a long line	Lake Superior	medicine men

Free translation: About ten gods of the Mesabe Range are sitting down here in a circle; the medicine men of Lake Superior are sitting down here in a long line.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| 5. Ka-ie-min | nina-ga-mo-i-go | ni-kan |
| too, me | sing | my brother |
| Ni-bi-shi-gwa-na-nig | e-bit | ma-ni-to |
| at long point at Leech Lake | living | god |
| Ba-bi-gwa-wa-kag | ni-na | |
| Leech Lake | me | |

Free translation: My brother, I, too, have sung at Long Point at Leech Lake (Onigum, Minnesota). The god of life also sang at Leech Lake with me.

6. Ka-bi-ma-ni-gwe-ko-mo-ian
long hair (of the god, referring to the white choppy waves)
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Mi-sha-wi-ki-dji-kam | I-ba-na-be |
| Lake Superior | (name of a god) |
- | | | |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------|
| E-ko-ian | ka-wa-da-ni-gwe-ko-mo- | kaish-gwe-kameg |
| | ian | |
- is my name long white hair hanging Lake Superior
down the back

Free translation: I am the long white hair of Lake Superior (i.e., the white, choppy waves of Lake Superior). Ibanabe is my name. I am the long white hair hanging down the back of Lake Superior.

7. Mi-edo	ma-ni-tog	o-ke-we	wa-ia-ko-no-we-wat
one	god	here (this)	crooked tail
Miedo	ma-ni-tog	okowe	ke-mi-we-no-we-wat
one	god	here	long tail

Free translation: There is one manido here with a crooked tail; there is also one god here with a long tail.

8. A-ia-gwa-mi-na-ne	ka-gi-wi-da-mo-nan		
you hold (like holding a piece of money)	I ask you		
O-o-we	bi-wa-big	ni-ka-ne	o-na-man
this (here)	iron (trap)	my friend	iron trap
Ka-gi-wi-da-mo-nan			
I ask you			

Free translation: I ask you [about] this iron [trap], my friend. My friend, I ask you about this iron trap. [Does it hold things as] you hold a piece of money? (The medicine man had probably brought a trap back with him on his return from the journey this poem is describing.)

9. Ni-sho-ka-mig	e-da	ni-ga-bi-ti-ke
medicine wigwams	two	go in
Ni-sho-ka-mig	e-da	ni-ga-bi-ti-ke
medicine wigwams	two	go in
I-da-wi-na	o-wi-bi-ia-ne	
both sides	[have] shells [suspended on both sides]	
Ka-ga-wa-ia	o-wi-bi-ia-ne	
porcupine quills	shells	

Free translation: There are two going into the medicine wigwam. Two are going into the medicine wigwam. They have shells suspended on both sides, also porcupine [quill] shells.

Ba-si-gwi-wai-ka-nan	o-now
singing medicine dance	last two

Free translation: The last two are singing a medicine dance song.

Song 7: Madjishgog Mite Nagamon (John Johnson's Medicine Song)

1. We-we-ni	no-da-wi-ia-ne	se-se-ga-dag
easy	sighing	spruce trees
Shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-no	wa-ha-mi-ia-ne	
bear singing	see me	

Free translation: Among the easy sighing spruce trees, the singing bear sees me.

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|----------------------|---------------|
| 2. Ia o-mi-gwa-ni-ia | shi-ma-da-gwa |
| feather | bear |

O-mi-kwa-ni-to
feather, like a goose feather

Free translation: The bear has a feather, a feather like a goose feather.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 3. A-ni-wa-ba-ton | ba-i-no-se-ia-ne | shi-ma-da-goke |
| I wait until daylight | walking | bear |
| 4. Bi-mo-se-ian | shi-ma-da-gog | bi-i-no-si-ian |
| walking | bear | down this way |

O-ki-ma-win	man-e-to-wa-ne
chief	god

Free translation: I wait until daylight for the walking bear. The principal bear god is walking down this way.

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|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 5. Kah-ie-min | agi | ni-wa-ba-dan |
| to me | all over | see |
| Ka-ie-min | ba-dja-gwin | a-ki-tin |
| to me | men's privates | woman's privates |
| 6. Ma-ni-to-wi | od-ji-da-sa | o-ma-ga-gi |
| god | sit down | frog |

Na-ma-da-bi	ki-ia-wik
sit down	shoulders (hips)

Free translation: The frog manido sits down (or sat down). He sat down on his folded hind feet (hips).

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 7. Mi-ka-na-ke | sha-we-ni-mi-wat | mi-te-wa-ke |
| my [real] friend | gives goods to me | medicine man |
| Ba-gi-dji-kan | sha-we-ni-mi-wat | mi-te-wa-ke |
| blankets, calico, etc. | gives to me | medicine man |

Free translation: My friend (brother in the lodge), I give the goods to the medicine man. I give blankets, calico, etc., to the medicine man.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 8. Ma-dji-io-te | ki-bi-nan | ki-ia-wik |
| walking with all | shells | shoulders |
| over breast | | |
| A-ia-go-ki | ki-bi-nan | ki-ia-wik |
| pressing down weight | shells | shoulders |

Free translation: He was walking with shells all over his breast and shoulders. The shells press[ed] down the shoulders with their weight.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 9. Me-te-we-ia-dji-wag | ki-dji-ka-mi-we |
| hear waves, yellow floating | Lake Superior |

Ka-wa-be-dji-wag
hear waves

we-sa-wa-dji-wag
hear the waves

Ki-dji-ka-mi-we
yellow floating Lake Superior

Free translation: Hear the yellow floating waves on Lake Superior.
(Repeated.)

Song 8: Mite Nagamon (Grand Medicine Song)

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. A-we-na-ia-ne | shi-ko-si-wa-ian | akimi-djanisa |
| who is that | whistle hard | young ones (children) |

Free translation: Who are the young children who are whistling hard?

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 2. Ni-ka-na | a-to-da-ma-wa-da | o-te-i-gwen |
| my friend | ask for (or give to me) | your heart |

We-mi-ki-sa-go	ka-no-da-ma-wa-da
god shells	give to me

Free translation: My friend, give me your heart; give me god shells.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 3. O-dji-i-ko-ia-ne | ni-mi-ki-sin |
| talking about | shells |

O-so-mi-ko-ian	ni-mi-ki-sin
talking about	shells

Free translation: We are talking about the [medicine lodge] shells. We are talking about the shells.

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|
| 4. A-i-gwa | o-be-so-wag | ki-bi-nan | ma-da |
| just now | flying | shells | here |
| A-gig | o-dji-so-wag | ke-shig | ko-ko-dji-se-wag |
| earth (ground) | shells | sky | flying |

Free translation: Just now the shells are flying (being "shot" by the medicine man—possibly only in imagination) here over the land surface of the earth. The shells (in the medicine man's imagination most likely) are flying through the sky. (This, of course, may be a poetic expression and simply refers to the using of the shells in the medicine dances.)

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|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. Wa-ia-bi-te | o-ki-ma-mi-te-wa | ba-ia-bi-te ⁴ |
| looks good | chief medicine man | laughing |

Free translation: It looks good to see the chief medicine man laughing. The medicine man is laughing "ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha."

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| 6. O-to-gwen | ki-bi-nan | it-e-mo-sa |
| sick | shells | close friend |

Ka-ie-win	ba-ba-mi-se
me to you	flying

⁴ "Ba-ia-bi-te" is also pronounced 'ba-yah-pit.'

Free translation: My close friend, the shells to cure the sick are flying from me to you.

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 7. Ka-ie-win | ba-ba-mi-se | ka-ie-win | da-ki-wi-se |
| me to you | flying | me to you | like shaking shells |

Free translation: They are flying from me to you. They are flying from me to you like shaking shells. (The shells are being "shot" from me to you and shake as they are "shot," or are in the act of being "shot.")

8. Bi-mi-shi-mo-dji-keg
carrying blankets in the final dancing act

Free translation: They are carrying blankets in the final dancing act.

9. (an added stanza).

A-ni-da-ia-ni-ne	we-mi-ti-gosh-i-gwag
he got it	the white man
O-mo-ti-da-ka-mi-wa	o-da-to-ba-ni-wa
calico	pails

Free translation: He has the white man's calico and pails [for presents].

Song 9: Mi-te Na-ga-mon (Grand Medicine Song)

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Sha-we-ni-mi-ia-ne | ni-kan |
| fondling as a mother does her child | my brother |
| Ka-ba-ki-te-nan | min-wa-ba-mi-gwen |
| raised up wigwam (or lifting up the flap of the door) | look good, see me |
| Ni-kan | ka-ba-gi-te-nan |
| my friend | raised up wigwam door flap |

Free translation: When I raised up the door flap of the wigwam, my friend made love to me in the most loving way. As I raised up the door flap to the wigwam my sweetheart looked pleasant to me (i.e., bade me welcome by her pleasant looks).

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|----------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 2. Ka-ie-nin | ko-da | a-mi-shi-mi-sa |
| too, me | I suppose | my close friend |
| Ki-da-wa-ba-ma | ka-ie-min | |
| see | me, too | |

Free translation: Me, too, my close friend, I am looking for you. Me, too, my friend, I am looking for you. (But the Indian puts it: "I suppose that I, too, my close friend, I am looking for you." This is the comer's statement on raising the door flap. The answer is: "I suppose that I, too, my friend, I am looking for you.")

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|---------------|---------------|----------|
| 3. A-wi-ka-ne | shi-ma-da-gwa | o-ka-tig |
| sore bone | bear | leg |
| A-wi-ka-ne | shi-ma-da-gwa | o-to-mig |
| sore bone | bear | mouth |

Free translation: The bear has a sore bone in his leg. The bear [also] has a sore bone in his mouth.

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 4. O-to | o-ton | we-dji-shi-moke | in-te-mo-sa |
| mouth | mouth | somebody killed | my close friend |
| | | him | |

Free translation: His mouth! My friend, somebody hit him in the mouth.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 5. We-dji-ki-kah-ki-bi-nan | a-ia-dji-o-t |
| very old shells | make young ones |
| We-dji-ki-ka-ki-bi-nan | a-ia-dji-o-ki-bi-nan |
| very old shells | make young shells |

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|
| 6. Ia-ni-ma-na | shi-me-da-gwa | he-mo-set |
| my friend (brother) | bear | walking |
| Ni-ka-nag | mi-si-se | bi-mo-set |
| road | turkey | walking |
| | | mi-ka-nag |
| | | road |

Free translation: My partner, the bear is walking the road. A turkey is [also] walking the road.

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| 7. Ia-we-na | ni-ka-na | shi-ma-da-gwa |
| who is that | my friend | bear |
| Bi-mo-sa | mi-ki-nag | ma-ne-to-we |
| walking | road | god |
| | | ni-ka-na |
| | | friend |

Free translation: Who is that? It is my friend, the bear, walking the road. It is my friend, the ma-ne-to-way (god).

Song 10: Saki-ma-naga-mon (God-singing)

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A-be-sa-mo | ka-sha-we-ni-mi-ne |
| somebody wants to go home | kissing young children |
| A-be-sa-mo | ka-wi-sha-we-ni-mi-ne |
| somebody wants to go home | kissing young children |

Free translation: Somebody wants to go home and kiss her young children. (Repeated.)

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 2. Sha-bo-te-bi-wag | o-ko-we |
| sit down | somebody |
| Me-te-wi-wi-wat | sha-bo-te-bi-wag |
| medicine man | sit down |
| O-ko-we | sa-ia-ki-ma-wi-wat |
| somebody see | medicine man |

Free translation: Somebody sees (or saw) the medicine man sitting down.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 3. A-gwa-me-nan | ki-ia-we | ma-gi-sha |
| hold me | tight | I guess |
| Ni-ko-tig | da--bi- mish-ka | ki-ton |
| somebody | pulls to one side | mouth |

Free translation: Hold me tight. I guess somebody pulled his mouth to one side by putting his finger in one side (corner) of it and pulling it out.

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 4. Ish-a-wa-ni-mig | ba-bi-gwa-wa-kag | ebi-gwen |
| like kissing him | Lake of the Woods | living |
| Man-i-to | we-dji-wi-ko-dji-wag | ebi-gwen |
| god | source of river | living |
| | | god |

Free translation: The Lake of the Woods is a living god; the source of the river in a lake (the intake of a river from a lake) is a living god. It is as if these were making love to him.

5. I-ta-wa-ka-mig
the surface of the top of the earth and the surface below the earth

Ni-no-da-ko-dag	O-mi-shi-ma-gi-na-go
must be hearing me	(a god's name)

Free translation: Omishimaginago, the god of the surface of the top of the earth and the surface below the earth, must be hearing me. (The Indians believe the earth to be flat or pancake-like in shape with an upper and lower surface. Some Indians also believe the earth to be composed of apartments, one above another, the floor of each apartment being like the surface of the world upon which we live.)

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| 6. A-no-ka-ie | nin | kash-a-we-ni | nin |
| too | me | kissing | me |
| We-na-gwe-shig | | ka-sho-we-ni-mag | |
| in the evening | | I am kissing you | |

Free translation: Me, too, you are kissing in the evening. I [too] am kissing you. (You are making love to me and I am making love to you.)

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 7. Ka-ia-ki-gi-to-ian | da-she-mag |
| I am talking | about him |
| A-we-si | we-na-na-gwi-shig |
| animals | tonight |

Free translation: I am talking about him to the animals tonight.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 8. Be-ba-mi-dji-wa-ge | ni-kat-ed-a-mon |
| flooding everywhere river downward | talking |
| Da-bi-kwe-gi-dji-wan | |
| [as it] recedes | |

Free translation: The everywhere flooding river as it rises is talking as it recedes.

Song 11: Kaish Mite Nagamon (Kaish's Medicine Song)

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|---------------|---------------|----------|--------|
| 1. Na-si-gan | na-sigan | mite | wi-gan |
| going walking | going walking | medicine | wigwam |

Free translation: He is going walking, walking to the medicine lodge wigwam. (This is sung of some object on a medicine scroll. True, the song

Free translation: My close partner, just as you would paint your face, paint the face of my close partner to keep him from getting mad.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------|
| 3. A-o-wi-ka-ne | Ba-ga-mo | ni-ka-ne |
| bone | (name of a god) | brother |

A-o-ka-te	wi-ka-ne
leg	bone

Free translation: This is the bone of Bagamo, brother, the leg bone.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 4. Wi-a-ia-dji-mi-go-si-ian | na-go-da-mok |
| talking about to me | asks me |

Manitog	wa-bi-she	shi-wa	e-ko-ian
God	speaks	Martin	my name

Free translation: God speaks to me and asks me if Martin is my name.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 5. We-go-ne ke-gwe-dji-i-na-ian-e | mi-te-wi-win |
| what is it I shall give | medicine dance |

Ma-ni-to-wan	ni-kan	ge-gwe-i-ian-e
god	my friend	shall be initiated

Free translation: What is it I shall give the medicine dance god, my friend, [if] I shall be initiated [into the lodge]? Or what is it I shall give the medicine dance god [as a present], my friend (or brother), if I try to be initiated [into the lodge]? (The inquirer here wishes to know how many presents he must put on the "medicine line" that is stretched through the center of the lodge so that he may be admitted into the degree which he seeks to take.)

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|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| 6. Ma-ni-to-wan | i-no-se-ia-ne | o-kwe-kan |
| god | walking | sweat house |

Ma-ni-to-wan	bi-mo-se-ian	a-gik
god	walking	ground

Free translation: The god is walking to the sweat house. The god is walking on the ground.

Song 13: Ma-djish-gag (Mahjishkung) Mite Nagamon
(John Johnson, Grand Medicine Song)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. Be-mi-ka-we-ian-ne | shi-ma-da-gwa | ni-na |
| see track | bear | me |
| Eshi-ga-we-i-nan | i-ko-dji | wa-go-sha |
| I see, look track | somewhere | fox |

Free translation: I saw a bear track. I also looked and saw a fox track somewhere.

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 2. Ni-kan-a | ba-bi-ko-te-nag | bi-mi-ga-we-ian |
| my friend | town | see track |

Free translation: I see a track in the town.

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 3. Ni-ba-wiag | ni-mi-ki-si-nag | ka-shi-ko-wit |
| stand up | medicine shells (my) | today |

Me-ni-to-wit
god

Free translation: Stand up today with the medicine shells of the god[s].

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 4. I-ni-ni-wa | ni-ba-wa-tog | me-go-na-wag |
| man | standing up | shooting |
| I-te-mo-sa | ni-ba-wi-tog | me-ko-na-wag |
| my close friend | stand up | shooting |

Free translation: The man is standing up "shooting" the shells. My close friend is standing up "shooting" the shells.

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 5. E-gi-no-we-mo-ia-ne | anish | mi-te-wi-ni-ne-wa |
| good sing | I guess | medicine |
| Na-ni-bi-tesh-ka-wa-ge | | i-te-mo-sa |
| walking around | | my close friend |

Free translation: I guess my close friend, the medicine man, is singing good [while] walking around.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 6. Me-da-ni-ne-e | ni-sh | i-ni-ni-wag |
| all kinds of goods | two | men |
| E-da-na-bi-ian | i-te-mo-sag | o-na-bi-wag |
| bedroom | my friend | sit down |

Free translation: Two men with all kinds of goods sit down in the bedroom of my friend.

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 7. Man-i-to | ba-ba-mi-te | mi-ti-gog |
| God | sees | trees |
| O-ma-gwa | | wa-ba-mi-te |
| bear | | sees |

Free translation: The Manito sees the trees. The bear sees them.

8. Be-mo-da-keg (This was not sung.)
talking

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 9. Wasa | ni-bi-ti-na-wah | ni-kan |
| little, far | shooting | my friend |
| I-te-mo-sa | | ni-kan |
| my close friend | | brother [in the lodge] |

Free translation: From quite a distance my friend, my close friend, is "shooting" my brother [with the shells].

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| 10. Be-shick | a-wa-ke | me-mi-to-wit | ki-bi-nan |
| one [more] | like | gods | shells |

Free translation: There is one more like the god's shell (a shell of the gods).

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 11. Ma-totok | na-ishi-na-gwo-ian | she-ma-to-kog |
| sweating | like me | bear |

Ni-wik a-ni-ie-to-ian	ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan	
four times putting something	grandfather	
(that's what I put)		
O-ni-gi-sin	ni-ko-da-mo-win	shi-ma-to-kwa
moccasin	I am afraid	bear [shooting]

Song 14: Farmer John Sag-im-an-a-ka-mom.
(Farmer John's Singing)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Weko-ne-ne | ke-wa-ti-na-ma-wi'an | |
| what is it you say? | are you trying beating me? | |
| Ki-da-se-ma | ani-mash-an | ke-wa-ti-na-mo-wi(n) |
| look at tobacco first | dog | are you trying beating me? |

Free translation: What is it you say? Are you trying to beat me? Look at the tobacco first, also the dog. Are you trying to beat me?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 2. Ka-ba-ba-mi-dji-wag | da-ba-ba-mi-dji-wan |
| the flooding and receding river | come back again |

Free translation: The high waters in the receding river come back again.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| 3. Wa-ni-se | wa-dji-wig | ka-ba-bi-ti-ke-ian |
| hill | in hill | he goes in |
| Mi-si-we | wa-dji-wik | ka-ba-bi-ti-ki-an |
| all over | in hill | he goes in |

Free translation: He goes into the hill. All over the hill he goes into it (something like ants going into their ant-hill nests).

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|-----------|-----------|--|
| 4. Ma-no | ni-kan | ka-na-na-to-wi-go |
| let it go | my friend | it will be all right to doctor a long time |

Ma-no	ni-kan	wi-ko	ga-na-nato	mi-ko
let it go	my friend	a long time	to doctor	a long time

Free translation: Let it go, my friend. It will be all right to doctor a long time. Let it go a long time, my friend, and [it will be necessary] to doctor a long time.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 5. No-da-wa-ke | mi-te-wa-ge |
| I am hearing [some] | medicine men |
| Ni-wa-ba-ma-ge | dji-mi-te-wi-wat |
| I am going to see | the medicine dance |

Free translation: I hear the medicine men. I am going to see the medicine dance.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| 6. Ni-wa-gi-shi-gwa-ne | ni-na | ani-dje-ni-shi-nabe ⁵ |
| crooked tails (as of snakes) | me | is my Indian |

⁵ Shi-nabe equals "my" or "ours." Shi-nabi ogema is "our agent."

Iie-dashi-mi-kwen	ni-na	nida-koti-nawa	ni-na
talking	me	trying shooting shells,	me

Free translation: Is my Indian talking to me crooked, like the crooked tail of a snake? I will try to "shoot" the medicine lodge shells.

Song 15: Mite Nagamon (Medicine Singing) by Andy Fields

1. Ni-ka-na	bab-i-ko-te-nag	bi-mi-ga	we-iane
my friend	lots of houses	my tracks	[around] town

Free translation: My friend, my tracks are all around the town. (I, as medicine man, visit all the houses.)

2. Ni-wi-wa-na-ne	ni-io-gan	be-mo-ce-ian-e
I try	four nights	walking

Free translation: I was taking medicine-exercises four nights.

3. No-shi-she-i-tok	i-na-gi-nin	mi-ta	wi-ian
my son-in-law's	look	me	medicine
child			

Free translation: My son-in-law's child, look at [the effects of] my medicine [powers], or look at what I can do with my medicine.

4. We-we-ni	mi-te-wi-iane
easy	my medicine

Ni-mi-no-mi-te-be	ko-sho-nin ⁶
my good medicine	me

Free translation: My medicine dance is easy. My medicine is good. Mine is good medicine.

5. Ia-ia-ni-ne	na-na-we-ka-mik	me-gwa
dodge from the "shot"	way down somewhere in	bear
shells	the country	

No-ni-da-wa	na-gwa	ni-wa-ba-ma
indications that some one	bear	see
is talking off in the thick		
brush		

Free translation: Down somewhere in the country the bear dodges the "shot" medicine shells. Somewhere in the thick brush (woods) the bear sees indications [that some one is there and] talking.

6. Ia-wi-i-i-ie	Ka-gish-gi-si-tot
(no meaning)	Cut Foot

I-gwane	me-te-wi-ian
my brother	my medicine dance

Free translation: Cut Foot, my brother, [that is] my medicine dance (singing).

⁶ *Koshonin* is "me," "my," "mine," usually "mine."

Song 16: Kay-gi-we-iash Sa-gi-ma-na-ga-mon
(O. M. Johnson's Singing)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Ka-bi-si-da-go-man | a-king | w-ie-na-bit |
| my sign is that some one | [the] earth-land | sitting down somewhere |
| is talking away off | | |

Free translation: By my sign, some one, sitting down somewhere away off on the earth-land, is talking. I see mirrored in the water that some one is sitting down.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 2. I-ie-shi-na-gi-wi-o-ian-e | ki-wa-ba-ma | |
| look at my clothes | see | |
| Ni-to-bwa-ka-ne | i-ie-shi-na-gwi-o-iane | |
| five sm king pipes | look at my clothes | |

Free translation: Look at my clothes. Also see five smoking pipes. (Repeated.)

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|
| 3. Ie-ishi-na-gwi-oiane | ni-kan ⁷ | o-ma-gok | o-te-ig |
| look at my clothes | my friend | bear | heart |
| Iie-shi-na-gwi-oiane | ni-kan | otonig | |
| look at my clothes | my friend | bear's mouth | |

Free translation: Look at my clothes, my friend. Also look at the bear heart. Look at my clothes, my friend. Also look at the bear's mouth.

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 4. A-we-gwen | ni-kish-win | aia-na-we-da-mo-kwen |
| whose that | fellow | that's no good see |
| Ni-kan | o-da-na-ki-ba-wa-dan | ni-te-wi-win |
| my friend | good sleep | medicine dance |

Free translation: Who is that fellow who is no good? See, my friend, he is having a good sleep at the medicine dance.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 5. Winawa | ni-ti-gok | ni-ka-nag | mi-to-win |
| this | [I] ask you | my friend | medicine man |

Free translation: I ask you this, my friend medicine man.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| 6. Winawa | nitogok | nikanag | nagamon | nitigok |
| this | I ask you | my friend | singing | I ask, me |

Free translation: I ask you this, my friend. I ask you, Are you singing for me?

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| 7. A-nin | e-go-teg | a-bi-i-ian |
| what you say | how long wigwam | living |

⁷ One speaker would pronounce this word "ne-kan," another "ne-kahn," and another "ni-kan." The word was pronounced "ne-kahn" by the singer at the time the song was chanted to the author. The same is true of many other words in this article. In one song they may be pronounced one way, and in another quite differently though the spelling of the word is the same. The connecting sounds before and following a word also often modify the initial and terminal sound, or syllable.

Free translation: What do you say? How long have you been living in the wigwam?

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| 8. A-nin | e-go-we | ki-ia-we |
| what you say | how far do you halloo <i>or</i> | all over |
| | how far do you send | |
| | your talking? | |

Free translation: What do you say? How far can you send your voice?
(*Answer:*) Everywhere.

Song 17: Ho-ho-ho Mite Nagamon
(Po-po Martin's Medicine Song)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Ia-gi-to | gwa-ni-da | mi-shi-ma-da-gwa |
| feathers (medicine man is carrying) | | bear skin token |
| Ia-gi-te-gwa-ni-da | mi-shi-bi-shi | bi-mi-ka-we-da |
| feathers (medicine man | mountain lion | track |
| is carrying | | |

Free translation: The man with the feather[s] has a bear skin token. The man carrying the feathers [also] has a mountain lion token (foot).

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 2. Ni-gwe-se | o-ko-naia-sa | shi-ma-da-gwa | o-wi-ia-wiag |
| my son | close | bear | my will (<i>or</i> wish) |

Free translation: My son, it is my wish that you keep close to the bear (i.e., the instructions in the bear ceremonies).

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|------------|-------|----------------|-------------|
| 3. A-wa-ke | win | me-ni-to-wit | ki-bi-na-ne |
| try | this | god | shells |
| A-wa-ke | win | shwa-ni-ia-wit | ki-bi-nan |
| try | these | wampum-like | shells |
| | | money | |

Free translation: Try these, the shells of the gods. Try these; they are like money shells. (Try these shells of the gods. Try the wampum.)

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|-----------------------|---------------|-------|
| 4. We-bi-da-ga-ni-ian | shi-ma-da-gwa | o-nig |
| pocket-medicine bag | bear | foot |
| We-shi-shi-gwa-ni-ian | shi-ma-da-gwa | te-e |
| little medicine drum | bear | heart |

Free translation: The little medicine bag is a bear's foot. The little medicine drum is the bear's heart. (The little medicine drum represents the bear's heart.)

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|--------------------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| 5. Wa-ba-ma-ga-ne | shi-ma-da-gwa | kimin ine, | ma-da-bit |
| seen after a while | bear | this me, | sit down |

Free translation: I will see the bear after a while. I am [now] sitting down here.

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|----------|--------------|---------------|
| 6. Ni na | we-to-ni-ian | shi-ma-da-gwa |
| me | mouth | bear |

Free translation: My mouth is like a bear's mouth.

7. Be-mi-ka-we-in-na shi-ma-da-gwa (sho-ka-we-ŋan
see track bear see track

Free translation: I see a bear track. I see the track.

Song 18: E-na-ka-mi-ki-nag Sa-si-ma-na-ga-mon
(Andy Field's Medicine Singing)

1. Ni-bi-na-se-da-wag
somebody go see

Metwo-kagi-kito-wate osh-ki-na-wa-gig
talking middle of the earth

Free translation: I hear talking in the middle of the earth. Somebody go and see.

2. Ni-ma-mi-no-kish-we nī-kan nigote ekitoian
good talking my friend after a while talking

Free translation: It is good talking. My friend will hear good talking after a while.

3. Wa-ia-se-ia- ni-bi-we we-tinag awesi manwa
ga-mig
pure clear water find animals bear

Free translation: The bear finds pure, clear water for the animals.

4. Ka-gi-dji-wa-nck wa-wa-ba-mi-ian
head of the river in the lake (the begin- sees me
ning of a river that has its
source in a lake)

Gish-a-we-ni-min we-dji-wa-ba-mi-ian
kisses and fondles me as a mother it sees me
does her babe

Mo-ki-dji-wa-nok wa-wa-ba-mi-ian
the spring (source of the river) sees me

5. We-da-ka-mig-o-ke ki-sho-we-ni-mi-ne
all over the country you make over me as a mother makes over her
babe

We-dji-wa-ba-mi-iane
you see me

Free translation: All over the country when you see me you make over me in a loving way. *Or better:* Everywhere you see me you make love to me.

6. Ne-ba-mi-shi-mo-a-gwa o-mishi-nia-gi-na-go-gwek
somebody dancing goddess of the big mountain

Free translation: There is somebody dancing. It is the goddess that lives in the big mountains.

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|--------------|----------------------------|-------|-------------|
| 7. Ka-iam-we | oninamawishin | minig | a-wa-si-iag |
| Kaiamwe | gave <i>or</i> gives to me | all | animals |

Free translation: Kaiamwe gave to me (or us) all the animals [for our use]. (Kaiamwe is the name of the god[dess] that lives in the big mountains toward the south from Nett Lake, evidently the Mesabe Range of mountains.

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|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 8. Ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag | ba-ba-na-ga-mo-ian |
| Mesabe Range | sings |

I-ba-na-be	e-go-ian
zenith god (half-way sky god)	my name

Ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag	ba-ba-na-ga-mo-ian	ko-iam-we
Mesabe Mountains	sings	zenith god

Free translation: The half-way god of the Mesabe Range sings my name. The half-way sky god of the Mesabe mountains sings my name.

Song 19: Enagamiginag Onomanashgwenagamon
(Andy Field's Medicine Song)

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Wi-si-gi-ma-ni-to-wi | ni-sho-ki-ma-ni-to-wi | |
| we are your gods | two times you are our gods | |
| 2. Ma-ne-do-wi-kam-ig | ado-ta-mi-ke | ni-ki-bi-ti-ke |
| God's medicine house | somebody tells me | I go into [the medicine house] |
| Onamanetowigamig | otodamike | nikibitige |
| god's medicine house | somebody tells me | I get into medicine dance |

Free translation: Somebody tells me I shall go (or be admitted) into the medicine dance in the god's medicine house. Somebody tells me that I shall get into the god's medicine house in the dance [there], [for] two times [something has said to me], "We are your gods, [and] you are our gods." (?) (The above, includes 1 and 2.)

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|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 3. Be-ga-na-bi-te | shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-no | ma-ni-to-wi-gwen |
| there sit | bear | god |

Free translation: There sits the bear god. (This the medicine man says as he points to a stuffed bear skin, or to the place in the heavens where the mythical bear god is supposed to dwell.)

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|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 4. Ka-gi-dji-o | shi-ma-da-gwa | wi-ki-wa-mig |
| walking slowly because sore | bear | medicine lodge |
| A-ia-dji-o | she-ma-da-gwa | wi-ki-ma-mig |
| changes his clothes | bear | medicine lodge |

Free translation: The bear [god] is walking slowly in the medicine lodge because he is sore [from dancing so long]. The bear changes his clothes in the medicine lodge. (After this mock change, the bear actor dances rapidly on the return around the lodge.)

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|----------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 5. Wa-sa | ni-to-ti-na-wa | ki-ga-ni-nan | bo-kot |
| for | I shoot | friends | on this side |

Explanation: In this act each dancer points his medicine bag toward some looker-on and blows his breath over it toward him (or her) and this one falls down as if struck by some powerful shock from an unseen source. He then gets up and falls in line behind the man who "shot" him and proceeds to "shoot" others. When white people are present, the actor who is "shot" does not usually fall down, but he always dodges as if trying to escape a blow from something, and then falls in line in the dance immediately following the one who "shot" him.

6. Ka-gi-ke mi-nwe-we ni-mi-te-wa-ian
good music shaking music

Ka-gi-ke-mi-mwe-we ni-mi-te-wi-gan⁸
good music shaking music

Explanation: The actor is here playing his rattle-drum as he sings this song. The words which he repeats are: "Good music, shaking music."

7. Ke-go-in-oake ni-kan ni-go-dji-mi-te-we kawabamig
don't point at [my] partner some place he'll see you

Free translation: Do not point [the medicine bag] at my friend (partner), as he will see you. (Meaning the opposite, that he should point it at him and get him to join in the dance.)

8. A-ni-qi-i, bo-ni-ia-ne ni-so-ka-mig, bo-ne-iane, wikiwan
what would happen if I let alone three medicine lodges

Explanation: It is difficult to get any meaning out of this stanza. *Boni-iane* (*bone-iane*) is used by these Indians much as we use the word "let"; but the sentence, "What would happen if I let three medicine lodges?" has no meaning. It would seem to mean, "What would happen if I went away from the three medicine lodges?" The next stanza seems to answer this.

9. Eshi-na-gwi-oian abosh-ke shi-ma-da-gog
the looks of you if you don't care bear

Free translation: (This would seem to mean) If you do not care [more for yourself than that], the looks of you are just like those of a bear (*literally* a female b. ar).

Song 20: Mite na-ga-mon O-ka-be-ki-shig
(Medicine Song by All Day)

1. Ni-kan	o-wi-ia-wi-ia-ne	bo-sh-ke
partner	soul	if you care
Ki-ne-bi-kok	o-wa-ko-wat	ni-kan
snake	eggs	partner
		o-wi-ia-i-nane
		soul
Bo-sh-ke	mi-ti-gok	o-wa-ko-wat
if you care	trees	eggs

⁸ In the *gi* and the *gan* it is hard to get an English equivalent. The *g* has a sound somewhere between our *g* and *k*.

Free translation: If you wish your spirit to increase in power take notice of the increase of a snake from its eggs. My partner, if you wish your soul to increase in power, take notice of the increase of the trees by their seed producing parts. (This stanza is very difficult to translate.)

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|-----------------|-----|--|------------------|
| 2. Gi-wa-ban | ina | eshi-ian | ikine-bi-kwa-ian |
| see | me | talking | snake [skin] |
| Ne-na-bo-wi-ian | | ne-wa-bi-shi-mok | |
| talk to me | | as it is placed in a certain position in | |
| | | the middle of the dancing area on the | |
| | | ground and a person dances upon it | |

Free translation: See me talking to the snake skin. Also see it talking to me as it is placed in a certain designated position in the middle of the dancing area on the ground and a dancer dances on it. (This represents an act in the dance, or, rather, this scene is acted out in the dance. The snake skin is exhibited by the medicine actor as he sings. In the closing part of the act he usually throws the skin on the ground and dances on it.)

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|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3. A-io-wi-bi-mi-na | wa-ni-te-mo-sa |
| shells | brother |
| A-wi-ni-ni | ni-na-na-to-na-wa |
| the man is concealed | you shoot just where you think he is |

Free translation: My brother, the man is concealed. You "shoot" the medicine shells where you think he is.

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|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 4. Ga-ga-wa-ia | o-wi-bi-mi-na | ki-ka-ni-nan |
| something like the quills | shoot[s] | brethren |
| of a porcupine (but imaginary) | | |

5. Ki-da-sha-we-ni-nom-ni-mon

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 6. Ka-ka-ki | da-ma-ni-ti-wi |
| the crow | is god |
| Wi-na-ge | da-ma-ni-to-wi |
| the turkey buzzard | is god |

Song 21: The Ogemah Dance Song of Farmer John,
Sung by his Son, Ne-be-day-ke-shig-o-kay (George Farmer)

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. ni-ka-gi-na | ni-o-ka-na-gi-mi-kog | manitog (yay-hay'yah-hay) |
| all people | select | gods |

Free translation: The gods select all people.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 2. Ni-ka-gi-na | ni-ki-o-na-gi-mi-kog |
| all people | select |
| Manitog | ki-wi-da-gi-shig-oge |
| gods | all around the sky |

Free translation: The gods select every one all around the horizon.

E-ie-i-na-bit (no meaning)	yay-hay-yay-hay (no meaning)	
3. Mi-si-we-ma-ni-tok all round, gods everywhere	ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog they love me	Yay-hay-yay-hay
Ka-gi-na all	man-i-tog the gods	ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog love me

Free translation: The gods everywhere love me. (The term "nishaweni-mikog" equals "affection extending to fondling and kissing as a mother does her babe.")

4. Ka-ba-bi-dji-no-wag wind is coming	ki-shi-ke sky	mi-si-we all over
Ki-shi-goge sky	ga-wa-odji-noweg wind is coming	way-hay-way-hay

Free translation: The wind is coming from all over the sky; the wind is coming from the sky.

5. Me-twe-nana-go-mi-to is talking to me	awasikishigoge other side of sky	e-bi-gwen somebody
Manito god	yay-hay yay-hay (no meaning)	

Free translation: Some god is talking to me from the other side of the sky.

6. Ka-da-da-bi- noweg coming pretty quickly	kishike sky	notin wind	(yay-hay-yay-hay)
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Free translation: In a few minutes the wind will be coming from the sky.

7. Ni-bi-wa-ba-dan we come to see	e-dah-nah-gi-ia-ban where I used to live	
Mi-ki-nin-oma that is where	agig on earth	oda-na-gi-ia-ban (yay-hay-yay-hay) where I used to live

Free translation: We come to see where I used to live; and there on earth that is where I used to live. (This is what the medicine god is saying to the medicine man.)

As actually sung the above, was arranged as follows:

1. Ni-ka-gi-na ni-o-ka-na-gi-mi-kog manitog, yay-hay-yay-hay.
2. Mi-si-we ma-ni-tok ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog ka-gi-na man-i-tok nisha-we-ni- mi-kog, yay-hay-yay-hay.
3. Me-dwe-na-na-go-mi-te a-wa-si-ki-go-ge o-bi-gwen manito, yay-hay-yay-hay.

4. Ni-bi-wa-ba-dan e-da-na-gi-ia-ban mi-ki-nin-o-ma a-gig e-da-na-gi-ia-ban, yay-hay-yay-hay.

5. Ni-ka-gi-na ni-ki-o-na-gi-mi-gog man-i-tog ki-wi-da-gi-shig oge e-ei-i-na-bit, yay-hay-yay-hay.

(And so on.)

Song 22: Kinebigwashgwenagamon
or Snake Song

1. Ish-go-te-wa-ne ni-ia-we
fire inside me (*or just me*)

2. Shi-shi-gwen-wa-ne ni-ia-we
soul inside me (*or just me*)

Free translation: There is fire within me. My soul [is] within me.

3. Ni-ia-we wa-ba-dan
me look, see

Free translation: Look at me and see.

4. Ni-ka-nag ni-wi-to-ka-wa-ke ka-gi-na
all

Ni-te-wa-ke ni-wi-to-ba-nag
medicine men eating

5. Da-o-na-gi-shi-ne ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan
somebody swoons my mother's father

O-to-bwa-ga-na-ne da-on-a-gi-sin oto-na-ga-ne
five smoking some put down dishes five

Explanation: In this act the novitiate is "overcome" by the strong medicine "shot" into his person from the medicine bags, the same entering his heart, and he falls in a swoon. His mother's father (or some other relative) then comes and lifts him up and he is prayed over. The five leading medicine men then take a smoke and the five plates of soup are set out for them.

6. Wa-na-ni-ka-na e-ti-ia-ne-i
partner not sick

Explanation: The novitiate is now no longer sick. He is now past the pretended sick stage in the performance.

7. Ki-wi a-ia-dji-mi-go mi-ka-ne
somebody is talking [to] my partner

Ki-wi-wa-wa-ban-ni-go ni-ka-ne
somebody sees [my] partner

Free translation: Some medicine man is talking to the novitiate. Some one is also paying attention to him so that he will learn the lodge ceremonies properly.

8. Ni-ia-a-dji-mi-go ni-ga-ne ni-gi-ne-bi-gwa-ian
somebody takes [to] partner snake skin medicine bag

Na-no-te-a-go-wet	ni-ka-ne
not much talking [to]	partner

Free translation: Somebody takes the ceremonial snake skin medicine bag and presents it to the novitiate; he, however, talks but little to the novitiate.

9. Ka-bi-ni-dji-wa-no-kwen	ki-ni-bin
[like] running	water
10. Win-sa-ka-ne-we-na	ma-ga-te-shi-shi
somebody takes	black snake's tail
Kwe-wa	wi-sa-ga-bi-te-na-wi
teeth	somebody takes

Free translation: Somebody takes the skin [of the black snake] by the tail; and somebody [takes it by] the teeth [in the performance].

11. Ia-a-wi	shi-shi-gwe-wa	o-ni-dje-ni-san
?	big snake	little snakes (eggs)

Ni-ki-ga-da-me-shi-ma
inside

Explanation: In this act the medicine actor exhibits a big snake skin as he offers up a prayer in behalf of the novitiate, which means: "May your offspring increase upon the earth as the snake's does, and may you have power, both charm and cunning, as the black snake has."

Song 23: By Tom Farmer—Wabeno Wagamon (Wabeno Song)

Each of the following parts is sung over from two to ten times:

1. In-ni-gwan-ni-sa	ka-no-da-we	wi-i-wi-wi
my brother-in-law	hears me	(no meaning)
In-ni-gwa-ni-sa	ka-no-ba-min	wi-i-wi-i
my brother-in-law	sees me	(no meaning)
2. Be-ba-mi-dje-wak	ki-dji-ga-mi-we	
floating	ocean	
Be-ba-mi-bo-got	ki-dji-mi-ki-nag	
floating	turtle	
* * *	* * *	* * *
3. A-ia-a	gi-dah-i-sa-ga-dji-we	
coming	hill	
A-ia-a	gi-dah-i-sa-ga-dji-we	
coming	hill	
* * *	* * *	* * *
4. O-na-ma	in-dah-wah-aish-gwe-	mi-ki-oti-na
?	ga-mi-gag	
	I got [it] the edge [of]	the land
5. Io-o	i-shgote	io-o
?	fire	?
gi-dji		madji
big		bad
		ishgote
		fire

to his manido after he has found him (in the 6th stanza). In the next stanza he finds the animals sought.

8. "I can, I can find black animals, black animals." That is, "I am able to find, I tell [you people], I am able to find the animals, the pack animals [I prayed for]." The pack animals are the pack animals of the manido and are bringing presents to the people, trade articles, plenty of fish, plenty of serial crops and berries, plenty of fur, plenty of game, and increase of the human family.

Song 24: By J. K. Redbird

Ya-hay- ah-a-hay ya-hay ah-a-hay ya-hay ah-a-hay
 We are to have a dance for the visitors that come. (Repeat.)
 Ay-hyah-ay ay-hyah-ay ay-hyah-ay yah-ay hay-ah ay-yah-hay
 Ay-he-yah ay-yah-hah ay-yah-hah ay-yah-hay. (Repeat.)
 Ay-hah ah he-yah hay hay ah-oh
 Yah-hah ah he-yah hay-hay-ah-oh (Repeat four times.)
 Yay-yah ay-hah hay yoh hay-hay-o.

Song 25: O-ka-be-ke-shig mi-te-nag-a-mon

(All Day's (Singing) Medicine Song)

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|----------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Bi-da-sa-mo-se | ma-ne-to-wi-da | o-da-sa-mo-se |
| somebody seen coming | god like | coming down here |

Free translation: There is seen coming somebody god-like in appearance. This somebody is coming here.

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|------------------|----------|---------------------|
| 2. Bas-to-se-ian | ni-kan | |
| me-see coming | friend | |
| We-dji-mo-ka-age | man-e-to | wi-ka-mi-gok |
| sun [coming up] | god's | wigwam ⁹ |

Free translation: My friend, I see the sun coming up over the wigwam of the manido.

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|----------|----------|-------------|-----------------|
| 3. Wi-na | ni-ga-na | be-ma-o-ian | me-te-wig-a-na |
| my | friend | try | medicine wigwam |

Free translation: My brother (friend), try to join the medicine lodge.

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|-----------------|------------------------|
| 4. Ka-wa-ba-min | ke-bi-i-ni-go-ne-ia-ne |
| see you | like the light coming |
| I-to-nik | i-to-nik |
| mouth | mouth |

Free translation: I see you as I would see a light coming from your mouth. (Not very clear but seems to mean, "I see you as distinctly as I would see a light through a window.")

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|------------------|-----------------|
| 5. Shi-ma-da-gwa | dji-mi-mo-si-an |
| bear | walking |

⁹ God's wigwam (wigwam of the manido also medicine lodge).

I-te-mo-sa
my close friend

dji-o-da-bi-nag
I take it

Free translation: My close friend, I take the bear walking.

6. Ni-na-ni-gi-a
shivering as from cold

e-te-mo-sa
m close friend

dji-o-da-bi-nag
I take you

7. A-ni-da-ian-ine
he got it

mi-te-wa-ni-ni-wag
medicine man

O-ha-ki-dji-ka-ni-wan
goods, blankets, and so on

o-da-tan-ka-ni-wan
also pipe

Free translation: The medicine man got the goods, blankets, calico, etc., also the pipe.

8. Ba-bi-ke
now

ni-da-na-ia-ni-kog
not much good me

Ni-ka-nag
my friend

e-da-shi-wat
all

Free translation: My friend, I am not much good. All (everything) is not much good now (any more).

9. Wa-e
?

ni-ko-dja-a
try

o-ki-ma-wa-bo
chief eater

A-ia-wi-bi-ian
shells

sho-ni-ia
money

wa-bo
drink

Free translation: Let the chief try to eat shells and drink money. Or The chief tries to drink from the medicine shells and eat from the money (shells). (This is quite difficult.)

* * * *

10. O-ka-be-gi-shing
All Day's

ma-to-dok
sweat house singing

11. Wi-i-i
?

ni-no-da-mo-wan
signs (making
motions)

odon
mouth

ebi-te-nig
like shaking the
mouth with the
hand

Free translation: Somebody is making signs with his mouth, just as if he were shaking his mouth with his hands.

12. O-te-da-ga-nag
somebody is coming

e-ie-na-ge-shi-nan
behind fluttering owl (coming behind
me fluttering, flapping its wings over
the ground trailing me.)

Free translation: Something is coming. It is an owl trailing me. It is behind me fluttering and flapping its wings over the ground.

Before leaving this subject, the writer believes he should add a word of explanation concerning the Bois Fort Ojibwa medicine

lodge or Grand Medicine Lodge (Society), so that the reader will get a clear idea of the meaning of the above songs.

THE GRAND MEDICINE LODGE SOCIETY (MITAWIT,
MIDEWI, OR MIDEWIWIN)

The actors in this Grand Medicine order are mystery men (*mide*) or medicine men. Their profession is incantation, exorcism of demons, and the administration of shamanistic or magic remedies.

As is indicated in the name, the order is an organized society. It is graded into four separate and distinct common degrees, and at Nett Lake four special degrees have been added, making eight in all. Both sexes are admitted to it. Admission to membership in the degrees is considered of great importance and consequently is difficult and is preceded and followed by elaborate ceremonies. As a rule, a male candidate is one who has been selected for that distinction by the presiding medicine man at the "giving a name" or birth ceremonies of that respective person, the medicine man then assuming the office of god-father for the child. From that date on the parents of the boy gather presents to defray the expenses of his preliminary instruction by a selected medicine man when he reaches the age of puberty, to pay for the feasts given to all who attend the initiation ceremonies, and to furnish the required presents to the medicine men on that occasion.

Obtaining a degree often involves a candidate hopelessly in debt. Should he fail to liquidate the same, his relatives are expected to assume the responsibility thus incurred. The writer has known Bois Fort Indians to live in a starving condition for years, so that a member of the family could take one of these degrees. One aged, indigent woman at Pelican Point (Orr, Minnesota), had saved (starved), it is said, for thirteen years so that she could take the fourth degree before she died, so great was her desire to become an acknowledged medicine woman.

In this society, as maintained at Nett Lake, there are preserved the traditions relating to cosmogony and the genesis of mankind.

It also teaches that an anthropomorphic deity appeared on earth in the long ago and interceded between Che-manido (Kitshi

Manido) and the Indians. He taught the latter the means where-with they might provide themselves with the good things of earth and the power of warding off sickness and death. He gave to the Indians the various plants and instructed them in their uses.

This being is known by the name of Manabush (Manibusr *or* Minabozo). The account of his life on earth, what he did for men, and the rites and ceremonies alleged to have been prescribed by him are dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society.

The society holds its services in a long, loose wigwam, called "medawegaun." Some of these are ten feet high, a hundred feet long, and twenty feet wide. The framework is complete, but the bark or canvas cover usually extends only half way up the sides, the top being open; sometimes the upper framework is also omitted. Along the center of this house, running the long way of the same within the framework, a pole, supported by posts, carries the presents the initiate is to give to the medicine chiefs.

When dancing, they proceed in a continuous row from left to right around the center pole and its presents, giving them the appearance of dancing in two rows. They all carry animal skin medicine bags as they dance, and as they pass the initiate they shake these over him or at him uttering hoarse sounds of various kinds. Also, when setting out from the eastern or starting post in the eastern end of the lodge, each one utters a hoarse "Ho, ho, ho," or other guttural expression as he shakes his medicine bag, holding it in both hands in front of him with its head pointing westward. Only members of the society are admitted, but any one who wishes may look on at the ceremony from without the hall.

Four of the medicine men act as initiating officers. These are provided with drums and rattles. One of these also has a kona-pamik (or cowry) shell (*Cypræ moneta*), the sacred emblem of the Metawit (medicine lodge order), and as he shakes the rattle and sings in a guttural voice he runs the lodge-dance course around the center pole, followed by the other medicine men. As they thus proceed they pass the novitiate who is seated on a new mat so as to face the center pole of the lodge. One after the other dances

about him (the novitiate) in turn, singing and gesticulating the initiation songs. As a final act they "shoot" him with the sacred konapamik shells, pretending to blow them into his head or breast, whereat he falls as if dead and lies in an apparently lifeless stupor. Quickly the medicine fraternity gather around him, manipulate and rub him with the medicine bags and pray and utter incantations over him till he "recovers," after which he spits a sacred shell from his mouth, pretending it is the one with which the medicine man had "shot" (or pretended to "shoot") him; but which he had previously concealed for the act in his mouth. As soon as he has spit up the shell, he sits upright and later, rising, is given a medicine bag as his lodge badge. This concludes the essentials of the ceremony.

The distribution of the presents follows this act.

The Nett Lake Indians also have a ghost society, which is a variation of the Grand Medicine Lodge, the ceremony being to all appearances about the same as that of the Grand Medicine Lodge proper.

Should any person, who has been set apart by the medicine priest to be dedicated to the Medicine lodge, die before the time set for the initiation, provided he is an adult, the relatives announce the fact to the chief medicine men at a specially called meeting (feast) at the lodge of one of the mourners. After the proper preparation thereafter, the chief mourner is initiated into the society as a substitute for the deceased, and the feast he gives is the "feast of the dead." The whole ceremony, including the feast, is designed to release the deceased's "shadow" from the "shades" and permit it to depart to the "land of mysteries in the happy hunting ground."

After the death of twenty-two infants from cholera infantum in the fall of 1913, we had a ghost ceremony almost weekly till I left the region the next year. Also, since the infantile mortality has increased, children are initiated into the society either in person or by proxy.

Another case of initiation by proxy is when a sick youth is brought to the ceremonial structure for restoration to health as a last resort, all the other and ordinary efforts of the shamans to

cure the patient with exorcisms and incantations having proved futile. Sessions of the society are also held for the sole purpose of curing the sick. This mode of doctoring is, in fact, becoming more popular every year.

KAYENTA, ARIZONA